

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS COUNTRY EVALUATION PLAN

1. THE HUMAN RIGHTS COUNTRY EVALUATION PLAN FOR INDONESIA HAS BEEN COMPLETED, CLEARED WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT AND APPROVED BY THE BUREAU OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS (HA). PART A AND THE INTRODUCTION WILL BE SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS AS PART OF THE CONGRESSIONAL PRESENTATION DOCUMENT (CPD), WHILE PART B WILL REMAIN CLASSIFIED. THE TEXT OF PART A APPEARS BELOW. PART B WILL BE SENT NEXT WEEK SEPTTEL. CURRENT PLANS ARE FOR PART B TO BE REVIEWED BY THE INTER-AGENCY COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS (THE CHRISTOPHER COMMITTEE) AT A LATER DATE. PART A WAS SUPPOSED TO BE TYPED IN THE SPECIAL FORMAT FOR THE CPD AND SUBMITTED TO THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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DEPUTY SECRETARY BY DECEMBER 15 IN ORDER TO MEET A TIGHT SCHEDULE FOR FINAL SEVENTH FLOOR REVIEW AND PRINTING, BUT A NUMBER OF REPORTS ARE RUNNING LATE. THE TEXT IS BASED ON OR INCORPORATES MAJOR ELEMENTS FROM EMBASSY'S PREVIOUS COMMENTS AND REPORTS.

2. THE TEXT OF PART A IS BEING TRANSMITTED FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND COMMENT BUT NOT FOR DETAILED CLEARANCE OR ALTERATION GIVEN THE CONSTRAINTS UNDER WHICH WE ARE OPERATING. IF POSTS FIND MAJOR FACTUAL ERRORS OR BELIEVE SEVERE DAMAGE WILL RESULT TO US INTERESTS FROM SPECIFIC

STATEMENTS, WE SHOULD BE INFORMED BY IMMEDIATE TELEGRAM WITH EA ONLY CAPTIONS. INSTRUCTIONS WILL BE GIVEN LATER CONCERNING ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF HOST GOVERNMENTS. WHILE ANY COMMENTS ON PART B NEED NOT BE TRANSMITTED AS URGENTLY AS PART A, YOU SHOULD BE AWARE THAT CHANGES WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO EFFECT AT THIS ADVANCED STAGE FOLLOWING "FINAL" CLEARANCES. TEXT FOLLOWS:

3. COUNTRY EVALUATION PLAN - INDONESIA

INTRODUCTION

INDONESIA, THE WORLD'S FIFTH MOST POPULOUS COUNTRY, CONTAINS A VARIETY OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC AND CULTURAL GROUPS DISPERSED ON NUMEROUS ISLANDS ACROSS A SPAN OF OVER 3,000 MILES. ITS DIVERSE RELIGIOUS, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL PATTERNS HAVE BEEN SHAPED BY EARLY INDIAN AND ARAB INFLUENCES AS WELL AS BY INDIGENOUS BELIEFS, CUSTOMS AND LEGAL SYSTEMS. WESTERN INFLUENCES WERE ADDED DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD AND SINCE INDEPENDENCE IN 1945. INDONESIA'S NATIONAL MOTTO, "UNITY IN DIVERSITY", REFLECTS THE VARIANCE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IN INDONESIAN SOCIETY.

DUE TO DOMESTIC TENSIONS AS WELL AS ITS CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL PECULIARITIES, INDONESIA HAS HAD A VARIETY OF FORMS OF GOVERNMENT SINCE ITS INDEPENDENCE INCLUDING AN ANTI-DEMOCRATIC, AND OFTEN BRUTALLY REPRESSIVE, REGIME HEADED BY PRESIDENT SUKARNO WHICH ENDED IN 1965. SINCE THE DEFEAT IN 1965 OF AN ATTEMPTED COUP INSTIGATED BY THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PKI) TO ACHIEVE TOTAL CONTROL, (THE THIRD ATTEMPT BY THE PKI TO SEIZE POWER IN INDONESIA BY FORCE), INDONESIA HAS HAD A FORM OF LIMITED DEMOCRACY UNDER A MILITARY-BACKED GOVERNMENT. OF THE THREE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS HELD IN INDONESIAN SINCE INDEPENDENCE, TWO HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED UNDER THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT -- IN 1971 AND 1977. ALTHOUGH INDONESIA REMAINS ONE OF THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, MAJOR PROGRAMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM HAVE PROVIDED SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS SINCE THE SHAMBLES OF 1965.

THE PRINCIPAL HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM IN INDONESIA AT THE PRESENT TIME CONCERNS THE CONTINUED DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL OF PERSONS BELIEVED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO HAVE BEEN IMPLICATED IN THE ABORTIVE 1965 COUP ATTEMPT. THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT RELEASED 2,500 DETAINEES IN DECEMBER 1976 AND ANNOUNCED A THREE-YEAR

PHASED PROGRAM (1977-79) FOR THE RELEASE OR TRIAL OF THE APPROXIMATELY 30,000 PERSONS REPORTED TO BE REMAINING IN DETENTION. AN ADDITIONAL 10,000 WERE RELEASED ON SCHEDULE IN DECEMBER 1977. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS IS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN VISITS TO THE REMAINING DETAINEES IN EARLY 1978. LESSER PROBLEMS INCLUDE SOME RESTRAINTS ON FREEDOM OF PRESS AND ASSEMBLY, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE FREELY OPERATING OPPOSITION PARTIES AND CONSIDERABLE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

A. CONDITIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDONESIA

1. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON:

A. TORTURE: TORTURE IS NOT USED BY THE GOVERNMENT AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POLICY, NOR IS IT OFFICIALLY TOLERATED BY THE GOVERNMENT. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF SYSTEMATIC TORTURE OR POLICE BRUTALITY. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL HAS STATED THAT IT CONTINUES TO RECEIVE REPORTS OF TORTURE UNDER INVESTIGATION. A NUMBER OF LEADING CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS IN INDONESIA STATE, HOWEVER, THAT THEY ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY RELIABLE REPORTS OF TORTURE SINCE APPROXIMATELY 1970.

B. CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING PUNISHMENT:

CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING PUNISHMENTS ARE ALSO NOT USED BY THE GOVERNMENT AS INSTRUMENTS OF POLICY NOR OFFICIALLY CONDONED. INDIVIDUAL CASES OF MISTREATMENT HAVE OCCURRED, BUT AVAILABLE EVIDENCE, INCLUDING RECENT REPORTS FROM FOREIGN JOURNALISTS, INDICATES THAT THE GENERAL CONDITIONS OF IMPRISONMENT ARE REASONABLY HUMANE WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE RESOURCES OF ONE OF THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. THE DIET AND AMENITIES PRISONERS RECEIVE ARE BELOW ACCEPTABLE STANDARDS EXISTING IN MOST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, BUT FREQUENTLY EQUIVALENT TO OR BETTER THAN THE CONSUMPTION LEVELS OF AVERAGE FREE CITIZENS IN THAT VERY POOR COUNTRY. THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT HAS REPORTEDLY ON OCCASION TRANSFERRED SOME PRISONERS FROM FACILITIES ABOUT TO BE INSPECTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS.

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QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN RAISED CONCERNING PURPORTED ATROCITIES BY INDONESIAN TROOPS IN EAST TIMOR IN 1975

AND 1976 PRIOR TO THE INCORPORATION OF EAST TIMOR INTO INDONESIA. VISITING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FOUND NO EVIDENCE THAT INDONESIA HAD APPROVED OR CONDONED MISTREATMENT OF CIVILIANS IN EAST TIMOR. THE INDONESIAN

GOVERNMENT WITHDREW AND DISCIPLINED OFFENDING UNITS GUILTY OF INDIVIDUAL EXCESSES, BUT MOST OF THE HUMAN LOSSES IN EAST TIMOR APPEAR TO HAVE OCCURRED PRIOR TO INDONESIA'S INTERVENTION.

C. ARBITRARY ARREST OR IMPRISONMENT: IN 1966, FOLLOWING THE COMMUNIST PARTY-INSTIGATED COUP ATTEMPT OF SEPTEMBER 1965 AND THE SUBSEQUENT OUTBREAK OF WIDESPREAD CIVIL STRIFE, THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT ENACTED AN EMERGENCY POWERS ACT. THE ACT SUPPLEMENTED A 1963 ANTI-SUBVERSION LAW THAT PERMITTED DETENTION OF SUSPECTS WITHOUT CHARGE FOR AS LONG AS ONE YEAR. AT LEAST THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND PERSONS WERE DETAINED UNDER THE 1966 EMERGENCY POWERS ACT ON SUSPICION OF COMPLICITY IN THE ATTEMPTED COUP. MOST WERE FREED OVER THE YEARS AND A SMALL NUMBER WERE TRIED BEFORE MILITARY COURTS. APPROXIMATELY 30,000 WERE REPORTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA TO REMAIN IN DETENTION AS OF LATE 1977 WITHOUT, AS FAR AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, FORMAL CHARGES AGAINST THEM. THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT STATED IN LATE 1977 THAT 236 OF THE DETAINEES WERE PERSONS ARRESTED IN 1977 WHOSE DEGREE OF COMPLICITY IN THE ATTEMPTED COUP HAD NOT YET BEEN FORMALLY DETERMINED. (AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL IN A REPORT ISSUED IN OCTOBER 1977, STATED THAT IT "CALCULATES THAT THERE ARE CERTAINLY MORE THAN 55,000 PRISONERS HELD WITHOUT TRIAL IN INDONESIA, AND THE ACTUAL NUMBER OF PRISONERS HELD WITHOUT TRIAL IS PROBABLY ABOUT 100,000". WHILE THERE MAY BE A REASONABLE MARGIN OF ERROR FOR THE NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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HAS NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THE MUCH HIGHER ESTIMATES). MOST OF THESE ARE PERSONS WHOM THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES TO BE HARD-CORE CADRES OF THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PKI), WHICH CLAIMED 3.5 MILLION MEMBERS IN 1965.

THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED IN DECEMBER 1976 THAT IT WAS RELEASING IMMEDIATELY 2,500 DETAINEES AND THAT ALL THOSE DETAINED IN CONNECTION WITH THE 1965 COUP ATTEMPT WILL BE RELEASED IN PHASES (10,000 IN 1977, ANOTHER 10,000 IN 1978, AND THE BALANCE IN 1979) OR BROUGHT TO TRIAL BEFORE THE END OF 1979. DETAILS OF THE PROCESS HAVE NOT YET BEEN FULLY CLARIFIED. PRESIDENT SUHARTO HAS PERSONALLY AND PUBLICLY CONFIRMED HIS GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO THIS RELEASE PLAN IN HIS ANNUAL STATE ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE PARLIAMENT ON

AUGUST 16, 1977.

A RELATIVELY RECENT INCIDENT PROVIDES AN INSIGHT INTO THE GOVERNMENT'S CURRENT METHODS FOR TREATING NON-COMMUNIST DISSIDENT ACTIVITY. IN JANUARY 1977 THE

GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THE DISCOVERY OF A RADICAL PROBLEM UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT CALLED KOMANDO JIHAD (HOLY WAR COMMAND) WHICH ALLEGEDLY WAS WORKING TO UNSEAT THE GOVERNMENT BY UNCONSTITUTIONAL MEANS. A TOTAL OF 783 ALLEGED KOMANDO JIHAD MEMBERS REPORTEDLY WERE SUBSEQUENTLY ARRESTED. MOSLEM LEADERS SAY THAT MANY OF THOSE DETAINED WERE HELD FOR ONLY A FEW DAYS AND THEN RELEASED. THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED ON JUNE 7 THAT THOSE CLEARLY IMPLICATED IN THE KOMANDO JIHAD MOVEMENT WHO HAD NOT ALREADY WOULD BE TRIED SHORTLY. EXACT INFORMATION ON THE NUMBER NOT YET RELEASED OR TRIED IS NOT AVAILABLE, BUT A GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCEMENT IN EARLY NOVEMBER 1977 LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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THAT AT LEAST 46 CASES ARE BEING PROCESSED FOR TRIAL.

ALSO IN 1977, THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT, HAVING EARLIER RELEASED ALL PERSONS DETAINED WITHOUT TRIAL IN CONNECTION WITH THESE SO-CALLED "MALARI RIOTS" OF JANUARY 1974, RELEASED THE LAST THREE PERSONS CONVICTED FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE RIOTS PENDING HEARINGS ON THEIR APPEALS OF THOSE CONVICTIONS.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALSO ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION TO IMPROVE SAFEGUARDS AGAINST ARBITRARY ACTIONS AND HAS TAKEN A NUMBER OF MEASURES AGAINST ABUSES BY OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE DISCIPLINING OF POLICE PERSONNEL.

D. DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL: INDONESIAN LAW AND JUDICIAL INSTITUTIONS ARE ROOTED IN DUTCH LAW (BASED ON THE NAPOLEONIC CODE) AND ADAT OR TRADITIONAL LAW, WHICH IN MANY CASES HAS BEEN STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY ISLAMIC LAW. AN AMALGAM OF MANY CULTURES AND PEOPLE, INDONESIA CONTAINS MANY ETHNIC GROUPS, ALL OF WHOM AND PARTICULARLY THE DOMINANT JAVANESE HAVE STRONG AUTHORITARIAN TRADITIONS DERIVED FROM CENTURIES OF RULE BY LOCAL SULTANS AND REINFORCED BY A STRONGLY CENTRALIZED DUTCH COLONIAL SYSTEM. LAWS WHICH PERMIT LONG DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL AND WHICH RESTRICT FREEDOM OF SPEECH, OF THE PRESS AND OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY ARE THUS DEEPLY INGRAINED IN BOTH THE PRE-COLONIAL AND COLONIAL TRADITIONS, ALTHOUGH CONTRARY TO INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN RIGHTS. GIVEN THE TREMENDOUS VARIATIONS FROM REGION TO REGION, THE WEB OF DIFFERENT CUSTOMS AND/OR RELIGIOUS RULES, AND THE

LACK OF ANY ADEQUATE CODIFICATION, IT IS OFTEN DIFFICULT TO DEFINE THE LAW ON ANY SPECIFIC MATTER. THE INDONESIAN COURT SYSTEMS IS ITSELF ALSO UNDERSTAFFED AND OVERBURDENED.

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CRIMINAL TRIALS, INCLUDING THOSE INVOLVING INTERNAL SECURITY CHARGES, APPEAR TO BE CONDUCTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONVENTIONAL PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS.

E. INVASION OF THE HOME. THE CONCEPT OF SANCTITY OF THE HOME HAS NEVER BEEN A PART OF INDONESIAN CULTURE OR LEGAL TRADITIONS. THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE OF NO LEGAL PROHIBITION AGAINST POLICE SEARCH OF THE HOME WITHOUT A WARRANT, AS EXISTS IN THE U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE DEPARTMENT HAS SEEN NO EVIDENCE OF ARBITRARY BEHAVIOR ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENTAL OFFICIALS IN THIS AREA AND NO SIGN THAT IT HAS EVER BEEN AN ISSUE IN INDONESIA.

2. RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES:

A. FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, RELIGION AND ASSEMBLY:
THE RIGOROUS SUPPRESSION OF THE INDONESIAN PRESS DURING THE LATTER PART OF THE SUKARNO ERA WAS INITIALLY REVERSED BY THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT. BETWEEN 1966 AND 1974 THE INDONESIA PRESS ENJOYED AS GREAT A DEGREE OF FREEDOM AS EXISTED ANYWHERE IN EAST ASIA OUTSIDE OF JAPAN. FOLLOWING THE OUTBREAK OF SEVERE RIOTS IN JAKARTA IN JANUARY 1974, HOWEVER, A NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS WERE CLOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT. SINCE THAT TIME, THE PRESS HAS BEEN LESS FREE TO CRITICIZE THE GOVERNMENT OR ITS SENIOR LEADERSHIP, ALTHOUGH CRITICISM OF SPECIFIC ACTIONS AND POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT IS ACCEPTED AND THERE HAS BEEN A GENERAL EASING OVER TIME. AN ARTICLE IN NEWSWEEK CRITICAL OF PRESIDENT SUHARTO AND HIS FAMILY LED THE GOVERNMENT TO BAN THE PUBLICATION IN NOVEMBER 1976. THE
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BAN WAS LIFTED IN MID-1977. IN EARLY 1976 A CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR CORRESPONDENT FOUND THE PRESS MORE FREE THAN ALMOST ANY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. IN 1977, CORRESPONDENTS FOR BOTH THE WASHINGTON POST AND THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE JUDGED INDONESIA'S PRESS THE FREE-EST IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. THERE IS NO FORMAL

PRIOR CENSORSHIP AND THE PRESS PARTICIPATED ACTIVELY
IN THE MAY 1977 ELECTIONS.

DESPITE ITS LARGE MAJORITY, PROFESSING ISLAM
AS THEIR RELIGION, INDONESIA IS A SECULAR STATE.
THERE IS NO HINDRANCE TO THE FREE EXERCISE OF RELIGION
BY ITS CITIZENS.

EXCEPT FOR THE OUTLAWING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY,
HERE ARE NO UNUSUAL LIMITATIONS OF FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY
OR ASSOCIATION WHICH APPLY TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC. SENIOR
CIVIL SERVICE OFFICIALS ARE FORBIDDEN TO JOIN POLITICAL
PARTIES AND, UNDER A PROPOSED NEW LAW, ORDINARY CIVIL
SERVANTS WOULD HAVE TO OBTAIN PERMISSION FROM THEIR
SUPERIORS TO DO SO. FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY IS LIMITED TO
THE EXTENT THAT GROUPS MUST OBTAIN PERMISSION TO HOLD
MEETINGS, AND LARGE-SCALE DEMONSTRATIONS MAY BE AND
HAVE BEEN PROHIBITED, ALTHOUGH OTHERS HAVE BEEN ALLOWED.
CONVERSELY, INDONESIANS ARE NOT INDUCED TO ATTEND MASS
RALLIES OR ENGAGE IN FORCED SLOGANEERING.

INDONESIA HAS ENCOURAGED THE DEVELOPMENT OF
TRADE UNIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A GOVERNMENT-
SPONSORED FEDERATION. TRADE UNIONS MUST REGISTER WITH
AND BE APPROVED BY THE MINISTRY FOR MANPOWER, AFTER
WHICH THEY ARE ALLOWED TO ENGAGE IN COLLECTIVE BARGAIN-
ING AND OTHER NORMAL FUNCTIONS. WHILE THE RIGHT TO
STRIKE IS LEGAL, THERE ARE RESTRICTIONS ON IT SINCE IT
IS FORBIDDEN IN ESSENTIAL INDUSTRIES, AND FOR OTHER
INDUSTRIES, MEDIATION IN TRIPARTITE BODIES AT SEVERAL
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LEVELS IS REQUIRED BEFORE PERMISSION TO STRIKE IS
GRANTED. CIVIL SERVANTS AND OTHER GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
ARE NOT ALLOWED TO FORM OR TO JOIN UNIONS. HOWEVER,
ONE LARGE FORMER UNION COMPOSED MAINLY OF CIVIL SERVANTS,
THE TEACHERS' UNION, HAS BEEN CHANGED INTO A PROFES-
SIONAL ASSOCIATION AND CONTINUES TO FUNCTION LARGELY
AS BEFORE.

B. FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, FOREIGN TRAVEL AND
EMIGRATION POLICIES: LARGELY TO CONTROL THE FURTHER
MOVEMENT OF SURPLUS POPULATION FROM THE RURAL AREAS
INTO THE ALREADY OVERCROWDED CITIES, THE GOVERNMENT RE-
QUIRES A PERMIT TO CHANGE RESIDENCE. SUCH PERMITS RE-
PORTEDLY ARE NOT DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN FOR ANYONE ABLE
TO PROVE HE HAS A JOB. EXIT PERMITS ARE REQUIRED FOR
PERSONS LEAVING THE COUNTRY, BUT THEY ARE USUALLY
OBTAINABLE WITHOUT DIFFICULTY UPON PRESENTATION OF
IDENTIFICATION PAPERS AND THE PAYMENT OF A FEE. THE
GOVERNMENT HAS INDICATED THAT IT MAY PLACE SOME RESIDENCE

RESTRICTIONS ON THE DETAINEES FROM THE 1965 COUP WHO WILL BE RELEASED OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO RESIDENCE IN JAVA, WHERE INDONESIA'S POPULATION PROBLEM IS MOST SEVERE. THE 2,500 PERSONS RELEASED IN DECEMBER 1976 WERE REPORTEDLY PLACED UNDER A LIMITED PAROLE SYSTEM DURING THEIR FIRST YEAR FOLLOWING RELEASE, BUT OBSERVERS IN INDONESIA REPORT THAT THIS HAS NOT PREVENTED THEM FROM OBTAINING AND HOLDING EMPLOYMENT. THE GOVERNMENT STATES THAT NO PERSONS RELEASED FROM DETENTION HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN RE-ARRESTED.

C. DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES. INDONESIA, THE WORLD'S FIFTH LARGEST COUNTRY IN POPULATION, REPRESENTS AN AMALGAM OF MANY CULTURES AND PEOPLES. FOR THE GOVERNMENT AS WELL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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AS FOR MOST OPPOSITION MOVEMENTS, COMMUNAL INTERESTS ARE TRADITIONALLY VALUED HIGHER THAN INDIVIDUALISM, WHICH IS REGARDED AS A RECENT AND SOMEWHAT FOREIGN ASPECT OF NATIONAL LIFE.

INDONESIA CURRENTLY HAS A FORM OF LIMITED DEMOCRACY UNDER A MILITARY-BACKED GOVERNMENT.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS WERE HELD THROUGHOUT INDONESIA IN 1971 AND MOST RECENTLY IN MAY 1977. ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE BODIES ALSO EXIST AT THE PROVINCIAL AND KABUPATEN (COUNTY) AND CITY LEVELS. CURRENT INDONESIAN LAW LIMITS THE NUMBER OF POLITICAL GROUPS TO THREE WHICH REPRESENT DIFFERENT HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUNDS, WITH THE PRO-GOVERNMENT GOLKAR PREEMINENT.

PARTIES ARE ENJOINED FROM ATTACKING OTHER PARTIES, ENDANGERING NATIONAL UNITY, DISHONORING GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OR BELITTling GOVERNMENT POLICIES. THE GOVERNMENT KEPT CAREFUL WATCH DURING THE ELECTIONS OVER STUDENTS AND OTHERS WHO THREATENED TO VIOLATE THESE RULES. DESPITE THESE PARAMETERS, CAMPAIGNING BY THE RIVAL GROUPS IN THE MAY 1977 ELECTION WAS INTENSIVE, SPIRITED AND INVOLVED VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE ELECTORATE. OBSERVERS REPORTED THAT THE ELECTION WAS CARRIED OUT FAIRLY, AND THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF WIDESPREAD VOTING IRREGULARITIES. THE GOVERNMENT HAD GREATLY SUPERIOR ASSETS TO INFLUENCE VOTERS AND ITS PARTY RECEIVED A MAJORITY SHARE OF THE VOTE, BUT IT ACTUALLY LOST SEATS TO THE MAIN OPPOSITION GROUP.

ALTHOUGH DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES ARE CLEARLY STILL AT AN INITIAL STAGE IN INDONESIA, THE 1977 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS PERFORMED MANY OF THE FUNCTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES IN DEVELOPED NATIONS. THESE INCLUDE

THE EXPRESSION AND ACCOMMODATION OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS,
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INCREASED GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIVENESS TO THE POPULATION'S
FELT NEEDS AND OCCASIONAL LIVELY DIALOGUES BETWEEN THE
GOVERNORS AND THE GOVERNED.

THE PRESIDENT WILL BE ELECTED IN 1978 BY THE
PEOPLES CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY (MPA), THE CONSTITUTIONALLY-
PRESCRIBED PROCESS.

SCHOLARS HAVE POINTED OUT THAT ONE ASPECT OF
INDONESIAN DEMOCRACY THAT IS NOT WELL UNDERSTOOD IN THE

WEST IS A HIGHLY DEVELOPED SYSTEM OF DEMOCRATIC DECISION-
MAKING IN TRADITIONAL INDONESIAN CULTURE WITH A BASIC
PROCESS OF CONSULTATIONS AND CONSENSUS RATHER THAN BLOC
VOTING. PARLIAMENT HAS AN APPRECIABLE ROLE IN THE
DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, PARTICIPATING IN THE CONSENSUS
AND ON OCCASION FORCING THE GOVERNMENT TO MODIFY ITS PRO-
GRAMS DESPITE ITS LEGISLATIVE MAJORITY. THERE IS WIDE-
SPREAD EXPECTATION THAT THERE WILL BE INCREASED CRITICISM
AND THAT THE PARLIAMENT WILL BE MORE EFFECTIVE UNDER ITS
NEW SPEAKER, FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER ADAM MALIK.

QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN RAISED CONCERNING THE DEGREE
TO WHICH THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION HAS BEEN MET
IN EAST TIMOR. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ACCEPTS THE
INCORPORATION OF EAST TIMOR INTO INDONESIA ALTHOUGH IT
DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THAT A VALID ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION
OCCURRED. THE MAIN CURRENT INTEREST IS TO FOSTER WITH
THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT HUMANITARIAN INTERNATIONAL
ACTIVITIES AND ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR.

3. RECENT TRENDS IN GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES RELATING
TO THE FULFILLMENT OF BASIC NEEDS FOR FOOD, SHELTER,
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HEALTH CARE AND EDUCATION

A. POLICIES DESIGNED TO RESPOND TO THE NEEDS OF
THE POOR AND POLICIES WHICH TEND TO IGNORE THE NEEDS OF
THE POOR: THE RIGHTS TO FOOD, SHELTER AND HEALTH CARE IN
INDONESIA ARE OFFERED WITH NO LIMITATION SAVE THAT OF THE
ECONOMY'S ABILITY TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY GOODS AND
SERVICES -- A GOAL WHICH IS ALWAYS DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE
IN A LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRY SUCH AS INDONESIA. EDUCATION
BEYOND THE INITIAL ELEMENTARY GRADES IS IN MANY CASES

AVAILABLE ONLY TO THOSE WHO CAN AFFORD TO PAY FOR IT. INDONESIAN UNIVERSITIES USUALLY ESTABLISH ETHNIC TARGETS FOR ADMISSION OF PROSPECTIVE STUDENTS BUT NOT ALWAYS SUCCESSFULLY. PRIMARY EDUCATION HAS BEEN EXTENSIVELY EXPANDED AND BY THE FIRST HALF OF THE 1970'S COVERED 65 TO 70 PERCENT OF THE PRIMARY SCHOOL AGE POPULATION. ADULT LITERACY REACHED 60 PERCENT BY THE EARLY 1970'S.

FOR MORE THAN A DECADE THE PRESENT INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN THE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO PROGRAMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. WITH THE SUPPORT AND ADVICE OF A SEVENTEEN NATION AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AID CONSORTIUM, INDONESIA IS CURRENTLY IN THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN OF AN AMBITIOUS DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAM. IN RECENT YEARS, THE FOCUS HAS BEEN ON THE AGRICULTURAL AND FOOD SECTORS. THE COUNTRY'S VAST AND INCREASING FOOD REQUIREMENTS AND THE GREAT BULK OF THE PEOPLE ARE DEPENDENT ON THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR. INDONESIA HAS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMS IN THE WORLD. HOWEVER, CONTINUING POPULATION PRESSURE HAS LED TO A GREATER FOCUS ON LABOR INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS TO ABSORB UNEMPLOYMENT.

TEN YEARS OF PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN AN INDONESIAN CIVILIAN ECONOMIC TEAM AND WORLD BANK AND IMF ADVISORS, PLUS APPROXIMATELY 7.5 BILLION DOLS IN FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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HAVE, BY MOST RECKONINGS, SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVED THE LOT OF THE AVERAGE INDONESIAN. ON THE OTHER HAND, ALL OF THESE EFFORTS HAVE NOT YET COME CLOSE TO OVERCOMING THE IMMENSE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS POSED BY INDONESIA'S POPULATION, SIZE, INFRASTRUCTURE AND PERSONNEL INADEQUACIES. HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY HAVE ALSO ADDED A SPECIAL BURDEN WITH THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION CROWDED INTO JAVA WHILE MOST OF THE POTENTIAL RESOURCES ARE FOUND IN THE ISOLATED OUTER ISLANDS. THE COUNTRY REMAINS ONE OF THE POOREST IN THE WORLD, WITH ESTIMATED PER CAPITA INCOME OF ABOUT 170 DOLS A YEAR.

B. CORRUPTION OF SUCH A NATURE THAT SIGNIFICANT RESOURCES ARE DIVERTED TOWARD THE NATION'S ELITES AND AWAY FROM THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION: THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT RESOURCES ARE DIVERTED FROM BASIC HUMAN NEEDS THROUGH CORRUPTION. THE SERIOUSNESS AND EXTENT OF THIS DIVERSION IS MORE DIFFICULT TO ESTIMATE. THE PROCEEDS FROM MUCH OF THE PETTY CORRUPTION PROBABLY ARE PUT BACK INTO THE ECONOMY IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER, OFTEN THROUGH CULTURAL IMPERATIVES THAT A LEADER OR PERSON IN AUTHORITY ASSIST SUBORDINATES IN NEED. THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN OUT AGAINST THE "COMMERCIALIZATION" OF PUBLIC SERVICE

AND THE PRESS MAINTAINS A CONTINUING CAMPAIGN AGAINST CORRUPTION.

THERE APPEARS TO BE A STRONGER ANTI-CORRUPTION PUSH AT PRESENT THAN IN PAST YEARS. SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS HAVE BEEN RECENTLY SENTENCED TO LONG PRISON TERMS FOR CORRUPTION. IN THE LATTER HALF OF 1977, THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED AND BEGAN A NEW ANTI-CORRUPTION CAMPAIGN UNDER THE TITLE "OPERATION ORDER" (OPSTIB). INVESTIGATIONS UNDER THIS CAMPAIGN, WHICH ARE CONTINUING, HAVE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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BEEN DIRECTED AGAINST A NUMBER OF VERY SENIOR OFFICIALS. OBSERVERS STATE THAT, WHILE THE CAMPAIGN'S OVERALL RESULTS CANNOT YET BE JUDGED, ITS EFFECTS ARE CURRENTLY NOTICEABLE AT VIRTUALLY ALL LEVELS OF THE GOVERNMENT APPARATUS.

4. GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY

WHILE THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONTINUING DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL OF THE REMAINING 30,000 PRISONERS STEMMING FROM THE 1965 COUP ATTEMPT, IT HAS, AS NOTED ABOVE, INITIATED A PHASED PROGRAM TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM IN SPITE OF CONTINUING CONCERNS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE STATE.

PRESIDENT SUHARTO, AS NOTED EARLIER, HAS PUBLICLY AND PERSONALLY AFFIRMED HIS GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO THE ANNOUNCED PLAN TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE CONTINUED DETENTION OF THE APPROXIMATELY 30,000 PRISONERS REMAINING FROM THE ABORTIVE 1965 COUP ATTEMPT. IT WAS ON HIS INSTRUCTIONS THAT THE TIMETABLE WAS DRAWN UP FOR RELEASE OR TRIAL OF ALL THE REMAINING PRISONERS BEFORE THE END OF 1979. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE TIMETABLE FOR RELEASE OF THE PRISONERS MET WITH LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FROM THE GENERAL INDONESIAN PUBLIC, REFLECTING THE STILL EXTANT EMOTIONS LEFT OVER FROM THE 1965 COUP ATTEMPT, THE STRONG ANTI-COMMUNIST BIAS OF BOTH THE PRO-GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP AND THE MOSLEM OPPOSITION, AND A FREQUENTLY EXPRESSED FEELING THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT SANCTION FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN WHAT IT PERCEIVES AS INTERNAL AFFAIRS RELATED TO THE BASIC SECURITY OF THE NATION. A SMALL BUT VOCAL GROUP OF INTELLECTUALS SUPPORTS THE RELEASE PROGRAM AND PROBABLY WOULD LIKE TO SEE IT ACCELERATED.

5. INVESTIGATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

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THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT HAS PERMITTED THE ICRC TO INSPECT PRISONS IN 1971, 1974 AND 1977. THE ICRC WITHDREW ITS INSPECTION TEAMS IN EARLY 1977 WHEN MIS-UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AROSE. IN LATE 1977, HOWEVER, THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT UNDERTOOK DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ICRC CONCERNING FURTHER INSPECTIONS, AND A RESUMPTION OF ICRC INSPECTIONS IN INDONESIA IS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE BEGINNING IN JANUARY 1978. IN ACCORDANCE WITH USUAL PRACTICE, THE EARLIER INSPECTIONS REPORTS HAVE NOT BEEN RELEASED.

THE INDONESIANS HAVE ON OCCASION PERMITTED OTHER INSPECTION VISITS TO DETENTION FACILITIES ON BURU ISLAND AND OTHER LOCATIONS. RECENT VISITORS TO BURU ISLAND HAVE INCLUDED AN INDONESIAN NEWSMAN AND A DUTCH TV TEAM WHICH MADE A DOCUMENTARY ON THE SUBJECT. AN AUSTRALIAN NEWSMAN VISITED A MEMBER OF SUCH FACILITIES ON JAVA AND KALIMANTAN IN OCTOBER 1977.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL RELEASED A MAJOR AND CRITICAL REPORT ON INDONESIA IN OCTOBER 1977, BASED LARGELY ON REPORTS STATED TO BE FROM SOURCES WITH INDONESIA. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES HAVE NOT IN RECENT YEARS BEEN PROVIDED ACCESS TO INDONESIA BY THE GOVERNMENT AS A RESULT OF LONGSTANDING MUTUAL ACCRIMONY AND PUBLICLY STATED MISTRUST BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES. VANCE

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